114 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (694) has uapikasaua or
352 uapikatyua for "bench," and uapikauá for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apouycaue" [translated from French].

171 As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc.
352 cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and
554 the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampiitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter.
●[574] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

516 Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night
562 in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

262 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts,
178 for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal
● [574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in
177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on
291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actual-
262 ly experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their
177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the
648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

The men's moieties form the basis for Tapirape ceremonial and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, race against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lazy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:— First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirape social grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and women. They are matrilocal for women and patrilocal for men. These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depopulation and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the most striking changes has to do with the relations of the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc — for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquired from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and

a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirã* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirã* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites: parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called *tãtãupawã* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (*op. cit.* pp. 95-98) did not recognize these *wirã* groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports three wirã groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirã* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that these are age groupings of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [814]

(3) Baldus (*op. cit.*, p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the tãtãupẽwã "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution 121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups" 264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens 224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam- [262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem- 574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs. 476

At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided 264 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups 551 were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũána, Maniitivuéra, Kãuuãnõĩ, Tãuãupéra, Ãmpirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtáupáũa. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũnã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vũaiki'tã (a variety of manioc). This may be [771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common 551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what 476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the 264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtáupáũa designates both the common feast of a group and the 574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what 476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũa" 264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement [101]

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574 that all participants in the tãtáupáũã [90] are called this. Nothing
264 could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than
[101] this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtá is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá
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824 [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means
"fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to
the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upáũã means "everything eaten."

The word tátáupáũã may mean that the fire went out, or that
everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
476 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.
574 The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to
a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while
123 the second chief, Vũãtanamĭ', was a Pananĭvũána. As I lived in
[622] Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also
became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a conse-
quence my own relatives, although absent, had also become
Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
476 and sisters.
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[608] Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life,
namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group com-
panions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never
join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc-
[621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from
birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
574 gether for the tãtáupáũã, which at such times is not really a feast
621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group
organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũí" (literally, "big
kãũí" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũí, which formerly
was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was
warm and so good that I ate my fill.

264 574 476 [262] 431 574 [622] [177] 264 476 574 [554] 123 [597] 264 574 535 [776] 132 574 796 224 264 476 574 [462]

[92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets. These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãuuãnõĩ, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ˜ to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group. There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karáˆ [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩˆ, etc. Before that, there was a great distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted together, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother. We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankanépéra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

[93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihõ and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness, the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtáupãũa of an eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ˜ had killed with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group. In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

264 476 574 [224] such as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the [345] [562] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinkí of both sexes sat [352] [94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself. [123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

123 264 476 574 In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankanépéra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend, Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the Ãvãinkí and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

264 476 Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxí house and in the takána.

[574] [611] Aside from the tatãupãũa, there is another institution which also involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirũ. Its purpose,

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [137] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in [482] hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé 262 [322] like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [171] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun-heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairabó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

264 [108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 476 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 462 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, ● 574 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were banana kãuí, peanut kãnĩ, cottonseed kãuí, toasted karí, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anahũxí from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little carás [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

trary, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chamacoko, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear.

An hour later I see Kamairahó going to the brook carrying two calabash rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a mournful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking at this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairahó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is invited immediately by Kamairahó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kauí, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamoréo, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairahó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin.

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairahó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Graver causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women.

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 15th of June, 1935. When at night I was awakened with the words "chaky vuy" "moun khoul," all the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like coagulated blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage.

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Mira y López[9] observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara- [223]
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirapé know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirapé River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirapé River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line [361] some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would [579] acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirapé are a sedentary agricultural [241] people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since [594] they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773 places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of successive culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirapé shamans travel [756] widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to [787] the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" (upturned gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirapé), or they may take [415] the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirapé has this great [823] wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirapé are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772 perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New 823 knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirapé youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, identified it as the place in which Panchoi, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kauwaluu, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinambas (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinambas, comme pour la plupart des tribus sud-américaines, certaines personnages dotés d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des mortels ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présente à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été souvent moins les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la terre leur oeuvre est toujours partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la suite d'itinéraires divers."

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO 6

Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 189 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te 161 168 182 [165]

Te 596 Ta 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

Ta 646 561

Ta 476 264 579 616 [796] [535]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO6

forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their technological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 38 ff.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Weapons.—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.6 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotyrgon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial moieties, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561

Ceremonial moieties.—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial moieties. Each of these moieties is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wirã" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials. 616 [345] [423]

Feast groups.—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tĩtĩupawã (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. 574 264 [582]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

Puberty.—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women.

Marriage.—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [574] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [703] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During